2: Skrefsrud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

585 bring oil and pour this out on the lid. The mother of the bride twists a wick, and this they kindle.

Thereupon the Jog Mañjhi says to the bride's father: Please bring us beer. He brings out the "Founding-still" beer. The Jog Mañjhi then sets one young man of the bridegroom's party and one young man of the bride's people to serve out beer a second time. He gives these two young men leaf-cups, about two baskets full. The young man of the bridegroom's party gives the people of the bride's side the beer of the bridegroom's party, and the young man of the bride's side gives the beer of the bride's people to the bridegroom's party, both commencing with the village headman of each side.

The Jog Mañjhi then goes into the house and says to the mother of the bride: Please perform the waving ceremony; we have started drinking the beer. The wives of the brothers then come out, and the women of the village are standing at the door. Now they commence the waving ceremony. The bride's mother is the first to do it. In a flat basket she has put sun-dried paddy, sun-dried rice, dhubi grass, one pair of men's wristlets and a solid brass necklet. This basket she waves three times round over the heads of the bride and the bridegroom. Thereupon she takes a little paddy, rice, and dhubi grass in her hand and waves it over them and then throws it down behind their backs. She then sits down in front of the bride and the bridegroom. First she puts one pair of wristlets on both the bridegroom's wrists, and puts one brass necklet on the bride's neck. Thereupon she salutes them, and they also both make their obeisance to her. Thereupon the two sisters-in-law of the mother also act in the same way; but they don't put any ornament on the bridegroom; instead of this they give him money. Thereupon the village headman's wife, his deputy's wife, and all the women of the village put ornaments on the bride or instead of this give her money, and the bridegroom they give money. The younger sister of the bride next washes the feet of the bride and the bridegroom, and she catches hold of the bridegroom's leg. The bridegroom then gives her one anna. Now they make the bride and the bridegroom stand up, they both go into the house, and the Jog Mañjhi gives the money into the charge of the bridegroom's father, after having counted it.

[301]

Now the bride's father, the village headman, and the Jog Mañjhi also all go inside. The village headman asks the bride's father: Look here, how much beer is there? The bride's father answers: There will be enough for the bridegroom's party. The village headman then says to the Jog Mañjhi: Please go and find out the wishes of the bridegroom's party; the bride says, I will give my father and his ones water. The Jog Mañjhi goes out and tells this to the bridegroom's party. They answer him: If there is any water, please bring us some, we shall drink. The Jog Mañjhi again goes inside and brings the bride and the anointing girls out. Thereupon he brings out one pot of poured-out beer and says to the anointing girls: Do bring one lota with water. They do this, and he conducts the bride and the anointing girls to the bridegroom's party. The bride then puts

2: Skrefsrud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

b. The clothes of the family.

291 A man's dress is a piece of cloth, one cubit broad and five cubits long, this is to take round the loins; and to wrap oneself in they have a cotton shawl or an over-cloth, five cubits long and three cubits broad. If they are wealthy, they also wrap a turban cloth, some five cubits long, round their head. Poor people use a piece of cloth some two cubits long and half a cubit broad as a loin-strip, or they have a piece of cloth two and a half cubits long and one cubit broad as a loin-strip. And during the cold season they have a piece of cloth, some three cubits square, to wrap round themselves.

Women have only one piece, ten cubits long, of women's cloth; this they take round the waist and up over the back and breast.

Children stay naked, until they are eight years old; after this age boys get a loin-strip and girls a girl-loincloth.

302 Men arrange a hair-knot, and the women tie up their hair with a plait of cow's tail hair. All use a comb.

c. The ornaments of the Santals.

• 301 Formerly men and women, when they had reached some age, did not use ornaments. And the ornaments of young men and girls were only flowers. Nowadays all have ear-rings, whether women or men, whether boys or girls. Elderly men also use wristlets. Besides these, elderly men have no ornaments. Elderly women have wristlets, necklaces, and rings.

Young men have wristlets, necklaces, and rings, and when they dance they adorn themselves with hollow bells round the ankles, hollow ankle-rings, blue-jay feathers, and flowers. Girls adorn themselves with wristlets, anklets, curved anklets, thin toe-rings, great toe-rings, toe-rings with hollow bells, necklaces, rings, solid close-fitting necklets, solid neck ornaments, arm ornaments, upper arm ornaments, and flowers. On small boys and girls they put hollow anklets and small hollow bells.

d. Men's work.

462 From the month of Phalgun to the end of Baisak (i. e., from the middle of Febru-
221 ary to the middle of May) it is "sitting time". Then the men make implements for their own use and gather provisions for the household; then they make ploughbeams and yokes, ploughs, and clod-crushers, earth-shovels and cart-wheels, cart shafts and axles, neck-ropes and yoke-leather-thongs, hide-straps and ropes, spinning wheels and cotton-cleaning implements, handles for spades and pick-axes, axes and adzes, bedstead legs and frames, stools and wooden slabs to sit on, wooden ladles and spoons, bows and arrows, flutes, wooden pestles and mortars and weaving implements; they weave cloth and bedsteads, and they bring firewood and wood for the house, and they repair the house.

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For purposes of transport, they use carrying-nets in the shape of bags slung at both ends of a pole carried on the shoulder called "Sikuar maran." They

Argo

Sika

are made of twisted strings of hemp fibre and are very strong. These are used by men ; while the women carry things on their head while marketing or on travel, using a basket for the purpose. At times one sees them carrying bottles nicely poised on their heads, in utter defiance of all laws of gravitation.

Dress

The Santal women now generally wear bordered "saris" not less than seven cubits in length. Half of this serves as the lower garment being knotted at the waist, the other half is passed over the left shoulder and hangs in the front. They use no veils for their heads of ravendark mass of wavy hair. They keep

Jt Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1902
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302 them combed in a nice knob at the back of their
301 head and decorate them with flowers of all hues and frequently with tufts of red silk.

291 In Mayurbhanj, we found the children upto five wearing a very short loin-cloth, worn round a coloured string tied at the waist (Bengali, *ghunsi* ; Santali, *danda jhinjhir*). They call this cloth "gendre." Girls after their tenth year wear a thick cloth called "panhand" in Santali (Oriya, *labanga*). Some of these have a bright violet border. Such "saris" reach only upto the knee, as they measure three cubits in length and one and a half cubits in width. But they take care to cover the upper part of their bodies with another part of the same [184] measurement, called "gamcha" by them.[1] It should however be mentioned that the dress of Santal women varies from area to area and those in intimate contact of Hindu life have taken to using the mill-made "saris" as a point of fashion, which are wound several times round the waist, and then carried over the left shoulder.

But women, who have retained their primitive style intact, make several pleats in the portion bound round the waist at the front, and the end thrown over the shoulder from behind falls over the breast,

1 Dr. Campbell in his Dictionary (Santali to English), calls this *Gógóh*'.

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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and the edges are tucked in on either side into the portion round the middle.[1] A second dress is of "kantha"-cloth (pieces of old cloth sewn together) which is bound by women round the waist and completed with another piece of cloth thrown over the shoulder and covering the breast. Yet another fashion known as "lebda gögök" and "lebda rakap," requires the cloth to be passed over the left shoulder in front, with the end hanging down the back.[2]

The men are scantily dressed. In the Santal Parganas, one generally sees them wearing a short cloth tied at the waist, the ends being passed on and secured near the end of the spine to allow free movement. Mayurbhanj Santals wear at home, a loin cloth, which they call "panchi" (Bengali, *gamcha*); but when going out, they put on a long sheet of thick cloth, five cubits in length and one and a half cubit in width, which they term "kutcha." We learnt that these are sometimes woven at home.

Ornaments

Women all over the world are fond of ornaments and Santal women are no exception to the general rule. Flowers of all colours are stuck to their hair, and over their ears, but those who can just afford,

1 Dr. Campbell's Dictionary, p. 43.
2 Ditto, p. Ditto.

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42

301 use ornaments of many kinds, the special features of which deserve mention.

The typical Santal ornament is made of brass, but at present nickel and silver are frequently used. One, however, wonders how the average woman can at all carry such a heavy load of metal on her person, for we found that a single pair of her convex-shaped anklets (Santali, *paina*) alone weighed two seers and a half. Again, on the feet she uses another round-looking ornament called "kharua" (one seer each of a pair) with rings on the first finger of the toe. No wonder that Col. Sherwill found the entire weight sustained by one of these belles to be not less than 34 pounds of brass or bell-metal. Their wrists have ornamented wristlets called "phora sakom" (from the name of "phora", Santal name for mud). We were shown four armlets called "tard"; several varieties of rings, one of which, "takamudam," had a silver rupee fixed on its upper

Tunki mudam

Taka mudam

surface, while another, had a curious engraving in dots (See illustrations). Some wives of well-to-do

3i Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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Some wives of well-to-do Santals wear a head-ornament called "jhip-jhipi," a silver tiara-like ornament, with a crescent moon glimmering in a locket (See illustration). Next, a decoration for the waist, "danda jhinjhir" (*Santali*) claims our attention. (See illustration). It is a mechanism of three silver strings fastened with a clasp, worn like a girdle round the waist with an ornamented centre shining on the back over the "sari". They decorate their ear-lobes with what they call

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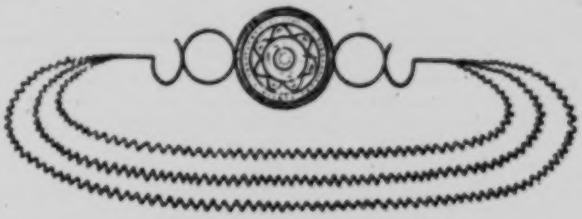
[556]

Jhipjhipi



Danda jhinjhir

"jhinka," an ear-drop, about an inch and a half in circumference. And the upper ears sparkle with "khutla," with five chains of silver swinging from it, whereas, the necks have beauty aids in the shape of "hansulis." (See illustration).

Khutla

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1902
AW42 Santal AW42

777 352 Luck attached to a bed is tested in a peculiar way. The interstices between a stringed bed (*khatia*) are counted from its top to bottom, beginning with *ind*, then *cand*, then *jom*, and then *raja*, and so on till the end. If either *raja* or *cand* falls on the last space, the bed is lucky, and if either *ind* or *jom* falls on it, the bed is unlucky.

777 243 825 301 [823] In sowing millets, the luck of preserving the grains from the attack of pests is ensured in a special way. The sower wears a ring made from the scale of the *Harba* (Indian scaly ant-eater). This ring must be cut by a flint to protect its virtue; and should iron be used, it loses all its powers.[1]

Origin of Witch-Craft

754 562 That the Santals have an uncanny faith in Witch-craft is known to many, but little is known about the fact that they consider all women as potential witches, who learnt their art, or rather stole it from Maraṅ Buru, the chief presiding deity, and how men in return learnt the craft of detecting the witches among women.

754 According to the sayings of the Santal patriarchs as we read in *Hōṛkorèn Mare Hapṛamko Reak'*

1 Dr. Campbell's *Santali to English Dictionary*, pages 22 and 265.

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AW42 Santal AW42

(Translation)

831 533 539 The girl sings:—

The shade of the tree has changed to afternoon.
The sheaves of leaves have withered too.
In sooth I say, leave the skirt of my *sari*,
The inmates of the house have come to know of it.

533 539 824 301 LOVE OF FLOWERS AND BIRDS

Nature with her wealth of beauties appeals very strongly to all primitive people and naturally enough, we find a large number of Santal folk-songs dealing with the flowers and leaves. Here is a Santal maiden enamoured of *natal* flowers which she will pluck at all costs and wear in her hair:—

Bururе *natal* baha
Dolop' dolop' *natal* baha
Janhan lekatehoniñ tiok'geya
Hòriñ chipirehon sut'do kòcerehon
Janhanlikarehoñ bahae geya.

(Translation)

On the hills are *natal* flowers,
The (luxuriant) *natal* flowers are dancing (in the wind).
I must pluck them by any means.
Although I am not so beautiful,

3i Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42

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And the knot of my hair sways side-ways;
However I may look, I must stick them in my hair. [301].

In the following song, a Santal is wailing for the loss of his garden of flowers:—

Nadika dhare dhare amakar bagan Raghu fulakar bagan.
Fulakar bagan Raghu basate marilò.
Amakar bagan Raghu, hure marilò.

(Translation)

By the side of the river is my garden, O Raghu!
The garden of flowers has been despoiled by the wind, O Raghu!
My garden of flowers, O Raghu, has been blasted by the hail.

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Flowers in bloom have the strongest appeal to the Santals, more specially to their women-folk. It is a common refrain heard in the Santal Parganas *"Biti kande campa lagi, beta kande dhuti lagi"* (the daughter weeps for the Campa flower and the son for the cloth). Here is a party who would request the gardener for the *berdòr* flowers:—

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Marañ buru còṭre
Berdòr bahado jèñgèt' jèñget'.

31 Mukherjea O. Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42

[177] [668] [262] 2. Carrion should not be eaten. The signatories refer to this custom with feelings of shame.

[535] [533] 3. Santals should not dance or sing anywhere except in their houses or villages. The manifesto reminds the tribe that the Europeans, Hindusthanis, the eastern hill-tribes sing and dance, but they avoid the hill-sides and public places. The ancient Santals had no public dancing.

[593] 4. Force should not be resorted to without reason as it slackens the marriage tie and gives rise to various vices.

[291] [801] 5. Santals should wear coarse cloth and their women should give up wearing glass-bangles.

During my last visit to Mayurbhanj, I found the air thick with these ideas, specially among the educated Santals and there was a noticeable tendency to give up dancing and singing in public. It became clear to us that aboriginal sets of value and philosophy of life were undergoing a perceptible change. Times are gone when the tribes joined with the rest of the population in their pujas and festivals as in the past. To a discerning eye, this ban has robbed the tribes of the *joie de vivre* to a great extent and the infiltration of political ideas plus a realisation of their rather poor economic life, has cast a pall of gloom even on the denizens of forests, hill-tops and wide expanses of laterite soil,

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1902
AW42 Samal AW42
MAYURBHANJ

833 826 As regards the part played by the breasts in the mechanism of tumescence and intercourse, it was gathered that the men fondle the breasts as a preliminary to intercourse. This is the first tactile contact preceding coitus. Kissing the cheeks and not the lips is the custom, and even then, it does not form an indispensable approach to the consummation. And although, the posture adopted in coitus does not stimulate the breasts, these are squeezed with the hands as will be clear from the folk-song quoted already (Dèṛ dèṛ ko men hili ho), nor does it permit of kissing, as the man sits under the raised legs of the woman.

832 301 As for the sexual basis of ornaments worn by women, wrist-ornaments are most liked by men, perhaps because of the tinkling sounds they produce. Older men seemed to like the "kharua" worn in the legs of women. The hair plays no unimportant part. Men comb their hair regularly by rubbing *mohua* oil, and after intervals of a week, they wash them with *markan hasa* (the soapy mud).

832 826 [302]

832 Whatever that may be, to women it is the man of health and vigour who counts. He must have wonderful virility and potency to have her favours. Should a man be physically charming and possess all the arts of winning attraction, as capacity to tell stories, witty talks, proficiency in singing and dan-

3: Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42

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[End Plate I]

A Santal Couple

[Page 49]

Photos: Mayurbhanj State

3: Mukherjea O. Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42

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Santal Physical Types [Page 49]
Photo : Mayurbhanj State

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[End Plate 2]

Santal Girls of Modern Times
[Page 49]
Photo : Indra K. Chatterjee

3: Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42

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[End Plate 3]

Washing Clothes [Page 64]

Photo Tilak Bandopadhyay

3: Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1939-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42

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Winnowing Corn

Photo : Tilak Bandopadhyay

[Page 98]

[End Plate 7]

3: Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42

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The type that charms [Page 410]
Photo: Tilak Bandopadhyay

[End Plate II]

3: Mukherjea O. Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42

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A Santal belle

[Page : 410]

Photo : Tilak Bandopadhyay

[End Plate 12]

3: Mukherjea O. Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42

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Head-Dress of Santal Women

Photo : Sambhu Saha

[End Plate 13]

4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

After the thread has been prepared it is transferred to the loom, a simple apparatus of a few bamboo sticks and wood. The warp passes horizontally round a beam held upon two wooden poles driven in the ground in such a way that the beam can revolve over them freely. Then the warp passes through (Rach) a comb like instrument. It is made of two bamboo sticks placed horizontally at a distance of 4" apart; over them a series of fine wooden sticks are tied. The opening between the two sticks is so small that only a fine thread can pass through it. This comb-like instrument is put in a wooden frame. The comb and handles made of thread are suspended from a bamboo put horizontally over two bamboo poles driven in the ground. To the handles two paddles of rope are tied which hang over a hole in the ground. The operator sitting before the hole puts the two feet on the paddles. When the paddles are in action one handle is raised and the other is lowered giving a wider shed with less strain upon the warp. The shuttle is a piece of flat wood, on one end a hole is made in order to coil the thread on the weft. The thread is passed through the hole around the other end of the wood.

Ornaments: The Santals use very few ornaments, the male having no ornament to wear except small ear-rings which are generally made of silver. 'Hansli' a kind of necklace is a favourite ornament for the adult Santal women though they invariably wear necklaces of beads. Little boys and girls also wear them. These necklaces of beads are bought from the market. Heavy brass bracelets are worn by the women. Ear-rings made of silver, one inch in diameter are worn by the

4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

301 women. Small rings made of silver are worn by the Santal women on one side of the nose, on the other side of the nose they fix a flat ornament made of silver. A brass or sometimes silver anklet of peculiar shape is worn by them. Every Santal girl wears flowers in her coiffure and over her ears. They comb their hair very neatly by applying mustard or mowa oil.

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DANCES AND MUSIC

534 **Musical Instrument :-** The Santals possess very little in the way of musical instruments. The (Tamuk) Tum tum is their chief musical instrument, it consists of a hollow cylinder of wood with one end covered with cow or buffalo hide and the other end with goat skin. A drummer with his instrument slung across his chest slaps the Tum tum with his fingers, a double beat being the signal for them to turn. This is not their own preparation, they buy it from the Chamars. They beat another kind of drum which is quite different from the Tum tum in form and preparation. The body of the drum is semicircular and is made of iron, the open end is covered with cow hide. They beat this drum with sticks in both the hands. They have a flute made of bamboo, the length of it is about one foot and the diameter is one inch. The bucks blow it by holding it horizontally. They have a buffalo-horn trumpet (which they call Sakua). It is about one foot in length, in its middle a small aperture is made. This is sounded by blowing air through the aperture to which the lips are tightly pressed. The air current in passing throws the edges of the lips into vibration (the lips being elastic membrane), the lips performing a function analogous to that of a valve which in rapid alteration allows and

[439]

4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

checks the free passage of an air current. The note produced can be varied within harmonic limits by the action of the lips. The Santals have string instruments also. In their instrument only one string is used which is of gut. The frame-work of it consists of a box-like resonator, hollowed out and covered with goat skin. This goat skin is fixed to it by means of small pins of bamboo. The string is attached at one end to the neck and at the other to the distal end of the resonator. The string has a tuning peg and a wooden bridge for regulating its tension. The dancing-drum (Tumdak) has a slightly conical body of burnt clay; the body is covered with patches of strips of bullock-hide wound tightly round it; both ends are covered with skin, the broad end generally with bullock-hide, the narrow end with the skin of goat. Both ends are laced with strips of bullock-hide, stretched from end to end close together. These strips make the instrument much stronger, and they are placed close together to prevent the clay body from being easily touched The ends are given a rim of boiled rice spread over the surface in circular form, often painted black with a red and white ring outside. The Tumdak is carried over the shoulder in leather thongs, the broad end always to the left side. It is drummed with the hands, the broad end with the left hand and the narrow end with the right hand.

534 [533] [239] [323] [237] [531] [482]

Dancing :- The Santals love dancing very much and every evening the boys and maidens gather on a reserved open space in front of Jog-manjhis house for dancing. Males and females both dance together, though at times they dance separately. The maidens during dancing smooth and adjust their long hair and

535 [301] [302]

4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

535 fix flowers in their coiffure and over the ear. The males
[301] also tie peacock's feather on their foreheads. I am now
[302] describing the dancing of the maidens which I saw
[114] personally in front of Katikund bungalow, which is fifteen miles from Dumka. The maidens stand closely in a line in order of height. They then fall away sidewise to form a big semicircle, limbs all moving as if they belong to one creature. They move forward two or three steps and in the same fashion they move backward and at the same time they make a circular
[533] movement. The dancers in the ring sing songs all the while to the music of the flute. Three or four men take their stand in the centre of the ring, beating Tum tum and semi-circular drums furiously.

796 **Dancing during Baha festivals** :- Their dancing at the
535 time of Baha festivals is different from that described above. They stand in a line the tallest first and the shortest last, then they bend down and each one raises and lowers both hands. In this way they move forward
[533] two or three steps and again come back. As above the dancers in the line sing songs, drumming and fluting goes on all the while.

535 **Dancing in which both male and female take part** :- Both maidens and youths decked with flowers and peacock's feathers hold hands so that the breasts of the girl touch the back of the man next to her, going round in a great
[533] circle. The dancers sing in tune to the music of drums and flutes played by the musicians in the centre of the circle.

859 **Games**:- In old days there was more play and less
178 work for Santal children. But now-a-days they have to go with their parents to the fields and do their share

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month. The date of the third is arranged while the first hunt is in progress, and it is announced by means of a *girą*. This is a method of reckoning dates or announcing future events. It may be used in connection with a hunt, but it is also used to announce a forthcoming marriage or a burial feast. It consists of a length of string in which a number of knots are tied, each knot representing one day. A number of *girą* are distributed to the surrounding villages during the weekly market, and they are kept by the headmen, who untie one of the knots each evening until one knot remains, when they know that the hunt takes place on the morrow.

Although the ritual meaning of the hunt has been obscured in the minds of the Santals, it is implicit in much that accompanies it. A hunt is the activity of the whole adult male population of the area. Women are not permitted to take part, but certain taboos must be observed by them while the men are away from home, to avert the lurking dangers of the forest. The prohibitions are similar to those enjoined on mourners and widows. No woman may wear flowers in her hair nor use the vermilion paint in the parting of her hair which is a sign of her married status. She should also leave off wearing the iron bangle which is another symbol of her marriage, and she must not bathe. At the present day, although the first two prohibitions are observed, there is some slackness about the others. But the main responsibility for placating the possibly malevolent influences residing in the forest rests with the *dihri*, or hunt priest. This is a special office, and the name is evidently the same as the Khond *dehuri* and the Ho *dihiri*, or priest. Among the Santals the *dihri* is a priest only at the time of the hunt, and he is appointed for the *pargana*. On the morning of the day when the hunt opens he performs the sacrifice of a brown hen on the edge of the forest which will be entered, and the tribal spirits are invoked to protect the men from wild beasts. He is encouraged by the spectators, who remind him that if any of them comes to harm they will hold him responsible. At times a certain amount of mimic hunting takes place in connection with the sacrifice, during which the *dihri* plays the part of the hunted animal.

The hunt lasts through the greater part of the day. The forest is surrounded by parties from different villages and the game gradually driven towards the centre. Within living memory the stock of game in most parts of the area has declined, and some of the hunts are now poorly attended for

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A fourteen-year-old boy who was once asked his name replied: "By my name I cannot do anything." Pressed for some explanation of his words, he said: "By my name I cannot walk." It was then explained by some bystanders that the name by which he was known was *Leḍha*, "the lame one". There is a large number of figurative and hidden names for common objects. These names are used in conversation between those who are in the joking relationship with one another and particularly at the time of weddings. "White horse" is beer and "red horse" is spirits; "sheep's *ghi*"[1] is salt; "jackal's horn" is pepper; "frog spawn" is water. "We are sweeping the courtyard" means that we are washing our teeth; "Have you taken the harrow over the field?" means Have you brushed your hair? "Have you married off your middle son?" means Have you eaten your rice? There are many phrases to describe the evacuation of waste products from the body, one of which may be quoted. A man excuses himself from the company of his fellows with the words, "I am going to pay my rent!"

The Santal love of colour and decoration also gives expression to their sense of the joyous in life. Men are sparing in the use of personal adornment, though youths wearing ear-rings or necklaces made from seeds pass without remark. Women are fond of ornaments. Most of them wear a small flower-shaped brass ornament in the left side of the nose and have brass ear-rings. They all wear a *hasli* of silver or brass, a large ring that hangs round the neck. Bangles of silver, shell or glass are worn. They delight to fix flowers of red and white in their hair, and they enhance the lines of their eyes with a dark paste. On special occasions some of the heavier ornaments are brought out—large bell-shaped ear-rings, silver ornaments for the hair, anklets and rings for the feet and toes. The women also decorate the houses with gay-coloured patterns. The houses receive a new plaster coat of earth at the end of the rainy season in preparation for the Harvest festival. The house plinth or veranda and the wall up to a foot or two above the plinth are plastered a very dark grey, the colour being prepared by mixing cowdung with straw ash. Above this dark colour, on a first coat of light earth, the housewives vie with one another to attract the attention of their fellow villagers and of passers-by. There is no uniformity and the colours used depend rather on the coloured clays that are available in the neighbourhood of the village, but red predominates. Some house walls give

[1] Clarified butter.

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and then a ram. The blood is placed in a vessel and fixed on the ground, surrounded with small stones. Only men may eat the meat of the animals sacrificed. The girls of this sub-clan are not allowed to wear Bengali-style *saris* or shell bracelets at the time of their marriage, though they may do so after they are married. When the men of this sub-clan are bringing brides to their home they present them with a *hasli*, the neck ring, made of brass.

A whole range of the sub-clans is known as *Sada*, or "white". They may represent a reforming element, for their characteristic is a revolt against the use of red vermilion paint. When the first ancestors of the Sada Hembrom, so it is said, were going to perform a sacrifice they thought that they had with them all that they needed, but when they reached the spot where the sacrifice was to take place it was discovered that they had left behind their supply of *sindur*, the vermilion-coloured earth that plays a large part in the Santal cult. When they saw this they completed the sacrifice without the *sindur*, and since then their descendants have been known as Sada Hembrom and they have continued to observe the custom so carelessly begun! In other ways, too, they have abjured the use of vermilion. They make no use of it in the marriage ceremonial, though once their daughters are married and have become members of other clans they may put vermilion in the parting of their hair. The cloth which is a part of the presents given at the time of marriages must be white without any border, and their womenfolk are limited to plain cloth throughout life. The same pattern of behaviour applies to all the Sada sub-clans. The Sada Hāsdāk', along with some other sub-clans, when they perform their sub-clan sacrifices, first of all model a scorpion out of paste made from flour and water and offer it before going on to offer a hen, then a pig, and lastly a goat. This particular sub-clan has to eat all the flesh of the animals sacrificed and they are not allowed to throw any part of it away.

Some of the Murmu sub-clans are restricted in the type of dwelling-house that they may build. The majority of Santal house roofs are constructed on what is known in Bengal as the "charchala" plan. This consists of a thatch that slopes up from each of the four walls of the house. The main beam is set well above the four walls, being smaller than the length of the house, with four corner beams fixed two at each end of the main beam and going down to the four corners of the house to form the first stage of the framework on which the thatch rests. Most of the Murmu, however, have to build up the two end walls so that

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There are many individuals famed in some degree as physicians. Some are equivalent to the general practitioners of the West, while others are specialists who possess remedies for particular diseases. There are others who might be described as veterinary physicians. When, however, an illness persists the patient and the relatives suspect that some supernatural agency is at work, and they then call in the *ojha*, or magician. The *ojha* is not necessarily a Santal, though there are now so many Santals who are learned in *ojha* art that it is usually possible for a Santal to be called. They are men possessed of special powers who have gone through a period of training, followed by an initiation ceremony at the hands of an *ojha*, and they in turn pass on their knowledge to their own disciples. Tradition says that formerly this training was strenuous and serious. It took the form of a course that lasted from May until October, the time of the *Dāsāĕ*, which is the same as the Dasserah festival of North India and the Durga Puja in Bengal. Throughout this period the disciples had to attend at the house of the *ojha* every evening until finally they were initiated. At the conclusion of this ceremony the *ojha* used to take his disciples on a begging expedition through the surrounding villages on three successive days.

These begging parties are a familiar sight in the countryside during *Dāsāĕ*, and they represent almost all that is left of the old initiation schools conducted by the *ojhas*. Every village has its bands of youths who meet each night for a month to practise the songs and dances and then go out to collect rice and cash from the neighbours. It is at this time that the *buaṅ* is used. When the young men sally forth they are dressed in picturesque fashion. On this occasion alone men are permitted to wear women's dress. They put on *saris* shaped like a skirt and a small waistcoat, a garment worn by the women in many parts of North India, though it is not normally worn in Bengal. They also don earrings, bangles and anklets, while on their heads they wear turbans in which they fasten peacock feathers.

These bands have little relation to the *ojhas* and they operate under their own leaders. One of the links remaining between this practice and the *ojhas* is the reference in some of the songs to the old *gurus* of the magicians, and in particular the original *guru*, a mythological person named Kamru. The name may possibly refer to a person who came from the western districts of Assam, a region known as Kamrup, but he is now entirely mythical. He is regarded as the originator of magical knowledge and as belonging to the race of *bongas*. According to one version, he is a